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Contrary images; photographing the new Pacific in *Walkabout* magazine

The pictorial magazine *Walkabout* offered readers a monthly lesson on the 'South Seas' for over forty years. From 1934 to 1974, *Walkabout* featured articles by travellers, officials, residents, journalists and visiting novelists. These liberally illustrated stories were accompanied by up to fifteen quarter, half and full-page black and white, sepia or colour photographs, which commonly focused on Papua New Guinea,[1] volcanoes, the *Kontiki* voyage, the South Pacific Commission, travel promotion conferences, distinctive regional food, fishing and fauna, and frequently depicted the dependent territories as possessions benefiting from benign colonial rule.[2] Nine out of ten issues of *Walkabout* contained articles and photographic essays on the Pacific, making potentially educative text and pictorial material both accessible and consistent in quantity for the forty years of the magazine's existence. At the same time, information about the South Seas from other sources increased: the growing number of daily newspapers and the heightened coverage the southwest Pacific received in international news coverage[3] presented Australians with a complex view of a world reshaped by new ideologies, consumerism and industry. Tourism to and from Australia also expanded in the post-second world war period, creating another level of interest.[4] *Walkabout* was patriotic and informative about economic opportunities and infrastructure development in the southwest Pacific. The magazine celebrated early political advances as the colonies moved from nineteenth-century colonial rule to self-government and independence. After the 1939–45 wars, *Walkabout* reported on decolonisation, yet at the same time visually portrayed the 'South Seas' as though the pre-war colonial era had not ended: photographs on elections, wharves and new industries sat alongside a frontier Pacific depicted by partially clothed 'natives' and picturesque villages. Photographs of Papua New Guineans accustomed to new technologies, occupations and political responsibilities were often accompanied by text full of naive, primitivist and racist phrasing. This contradictory visual and textual format makes it difficult to define *Walkabout's* place in the history of Australian relations with the Pacific Islands.

The history of *Walkabout*

In the 1930s and 1940s, rural Australians were visually as familiar with Papua New Guinea as with the streets, galleries and parks of Sydney and Melbourne. Conversely, for urban Australians, familiarity with the 'South Seas' was possibly greater than for the Outback, Central Australia and the Northern Territory. **[Can we have a sentence about why this may have been? Why did the Pacific receive such attention at this time, why was it more significant to Australia/ns than depictions of the Outback?]** The Pacific Islands had been extensively illustrated since the 1890s in touring missionary lantern slide shows, postcards, serial encyclopaedia, magazines and illustrated weekend newspapers like the *Australasian, The Queenslander, The Sydney Mail, Lone Hand, Sea Land and Air*, and *Town and Country Journal*. By 1934, when *Walkabout* began, photographs of canoes, costumed dancers, suspension bridges, villages, partially clothed men and women, plantations and tropical port towns were not extraordinary.[5] Mick Leahy's twenty highlands photographs and the twelve other un-attributed photographs on Tahiti and New Zealand in the first edition

of *Walkabout* in November 1934 were possibly more easily recognised than the forty-one photographs of the Kimberley, cattle droving and eastern seaboard cities.

Walkabout's longevity is historically significant as it was an illustrated geographic, patriotic forum that defined Australia and the neighbouring islands for Australians, asserted an 'Australian-ness', [6] promoted the idea of travel and raised funds for the Australian National Travel Association (ANTA).[7] It should be also acknowledged as a precursor of the info-entertainment post-war magazines that combined cultural, geographic and scientific content with travel literature, and as an early promoter of the field of photojournalism. *Walkabout* declared its intention was to help 'Australians and the people of other lands … learn more of the vast Australian continent and its nearby islands'. It offered self-education and understanding gained by going on a monthly walk about 'through a fascinating world — Australia and the islands of the southwest Pacific'.**[Reference for above quotations]** Many companies associated with tourism advertised in its pages but *Walkabout* was not a travel magazine.[8] It was a geographical and ethnographic reference in the manner of the illustrated, investigatory style of the USA's *National Geographic.* Although many of Australia's illustrated weekend newspaper editions were struggling in the 1930s, just as *Walkabout* was launched, the magazine benefited from the established international popularity of *National Geographic*, *Wide World Magazine, Life, Sphere,* the *Illustrated London News* and *Picture Post. Walkabout's* readership was smaller at an estimated 28,000 buyers and 100,000 readers, and it had to compete with the new illustrated outback adventure magazines *Man* (1936–1974) and *Pix* (1938–). *Walkabout*'s special Christmas 'annual' attracted sales of 80,000. It claimed to have sold 2.5 million copies between 1934 and 1945 and distributed 30,000 promotional photographs annually to overseas agents and institutions.[9]

Walkabout advertised regularly for photographs and offered seven shillings and sixpence per photograph published and, in 1948, a very reasonable five guineas for photographs used as covers. It suggested articles should be 'from 1,500 to 2,000 words and accompanied by three or four photographs'.**[Reference]** Most photographs in *Walkabout* were un-attributed, including those by *Walkabout's* staff photographer, Roy Dunstan. However, the ninety-six individual 'South Seas' photographers identified in *Walkabout* indicate the frequency with which ambitious photographers and authors contributed to popular magazines, newspapers and journals in the first half of the twentieth century[10] and historically is evidence of the widespread use of the camera for personal, official and commercial purposes in colonial territories. **[If you feel it appropriate, a comment on the colonising gaze would be relevant here]** Institutions and government agencies were initially a source for photographs with the Australian Museum, Sydney, regularly cited in the first decade. Later, photographs were supplied by the Australian Department of Territories and the Department of Information, the Fijian Public Record Office, commercial firms such as shipping companies KNILM, KPM (both Dutch) and the Orient Line, airlines such as Whites Aviation, New Guinea Airways and PANAM and the mining exploration companies BP Oil and Australian Petroleum Company Limited. Commercial photography studios including AJ Tattersall in Apia, Stinsons and Rob Wright in Suva and Max Dupain in Sydney supplied occasional photographs.

Walkabout never implemented a plan to create a public archive of Australian photographs, but their 'South Seas' collection was impressive and used in articles sent

in without photographs, to supplement articles when insufficient photographs were supplied, and randomly over forty years in a monthly photography segment.[11] *Walkabout* occasionally used photographs to record recent events such as patrols in to the New Guinea Highlands or the *Kontiki* expedition but other photographs misled readers on the contemporary situation in Oceania. For example, an article on Fiji by Basil Hall in January 1939, 'Up the Wainamala', included five photographs taken more than thirty years before, which had previously appeared in postcards, books and albums. One photograph, 'Interior of a chief's house in Fiji', was taken in the 1880s, sold by postcard suppliers in Fiji at the turn of the century and used as a promotional postcard by the Fiji government at the 1924 Wembley Colonial. A series of articles on New Caledonia between 1939–44, used both early 1900s and contemporary wartime photographs without indicating to readers the time span.[12] Despite these editorial lapses, *Walkabout's* philosophy on photography was not to be 'content to perpetuate outworn formulas' but to foster the new breed of photo-journalists with their 'searching, character-exposing portraits and pictorial essays which probe to the heart of the matter'.**[Reference if different to below]** A glance across its forty-year gallery of photographs supports this claim. An editorial in 1966 declared *Walkabout* had been a trailblazer using photography to 'enliven its pages and lend point to its articles', noting in Australia there were less than a dozen 'who can truly claim to be photo-journalists. Nearly all of them contribute to *Walkabout*'.[13]

Education and colonialism

Walkabout's photographs placed representations of the southwest Pacific in the public domain for over four decades, exposing several generations of Australians to depictions of their near neighbours. The meanings attributed to these widely disseminated images — the public and social understanding acquired by readers as they learned-by-looking — are revealed through investigation of the surrounding events, prevailing ideas and predilections of photographers, editors, authors and readers in 1934–1974. This does not deny importance along other points of what Elizabeth Edwards in *Raw Histories: Photography, Anthropology and Museums* calls the production-exchange-consumption axis,[14] but the uncertainty of symbol, metaphor and meaning in *Walkabout's* photography becomes important when we establish intersections between the widely published image, adult education, public debate and hegemonic paradigms. Edwards argues that meaning emerges from photographs at a single point but more is revealed by investigation of production, exchange and consumption of the image over a longer period, including the present.**[Reference]** Photographs have a history; meanings can be attributed by the immediate context of their taking and use. Different histories are imposed by hindsight and long-range analysis. A photograph in 1934 disseminated worldwide through illustrated magazines, newspapers, books, serial encyclopaedia, postcards, lantern slide shows, stereographs, stamps and commercial albums demands a different approach because historical analysis that ignores meanings generated by dissemination in the public domain misses the educative role that photographs played for the ordinary reader and undervalues the mass-media impact of early twentieth-century published photography. Because historians have focused primarily on production and provenance, ignoring mass dissemination as a structural component of their research on photographs, the long-lasting educative impact and popularity of heavily illustrated mass-circulation magazines such as *Walkabout* has been overlooked. I argue that *Walkabout's* importance, historically, is to be found in the educative process as pages

were turned and alternately familiar, contrary or perplexing understandings of the 'South Seas' were initiated by contradictions between articles, photographic subjects and their captions. The recent research of McGuire, Russell and Ross on the literary and textual portrayal of Indigenous Australians finally brought *Walkabout* to scholarly attention, but omitted comparison with *Walkabout's* depiction of the peoples of the 'South Seas'.[15] *Walkabout's* position in Australia–Pacific history needs to be acknowledged. Those who learned-by-looking were confronted with both repetition/reinforcement and new visual challenges over a forty-year period, suggesting that the pictorial display of Indigenous peoples, flora, fauna and frontier economic opportunities were significant in educating Australian readers about Oceania.

In the first issue of *Walkabout* in November 1934, two full-page and eighteen smaller black and white photographs allowed Australian readers to follow Jim Taylor, Mick and Dan Leahy and Ken Spinks as they moved slowly out of Bena Bena in the highlands of Papua New Guinea and patrolled into unmapped territory in the Bismarck Ranges. **[Please quote from the article to give readers an idea of how PNG was represented to readers]** Thirteen pages were devoted to diary extracts, editorial commentary and photographs.[16] Four issues later in February 1935, a bamboo pipe smoking Papua New Guinean dressed in shell armbands, necklace, wig and feather headdress was on the front cover **[Does this manner of representation present a contrast to the first issue? Quote to convey tone of article]**, the first of fifty-two front covers *Walkabout* devoted to the 'South Seas'.[17] Thirty years later Papua New Guinea featured on the front cover with a colour photograph by Peter Drummond depicting a briefcase-carrying man in imported shorts and shirt, leaving a village along a track past a traditionally clothed young woman. The cover declared the content of Drummond's article, 'The broken silence', would cover 'from the Stone Age to University'**[Please quote to convey]**, suggesting that by 1968, the exotic, geographic and ethnographic emphasis of articles and photographs in the first three decades was being replaced by political content and realist photojournalism. However, this transition was not a smooth one for *Walkabout*.

All photos need to be at 300 dpi, black and white, preferably in TIF format, not JPEG.
Fig 1: Cover, Walkabout, *February 1935*

Fig 2: Cover, Walkabout*, September 1968*

Walkabout offered readers the comfort of the established, but also imposed the discomfort of newly emerging visual paradigms. Photographs and text often contradicted each other, presenting readers with opposing narratives on the same page. The photograph and letter sent in by the ex-miner Jack O'Neill in 1938 is an example of this duality.[18] A photograph depicted a Papuan assisting a surveyor, while O'Neil's text claimed that Papuans were an ever-present danger and 'hostile native tribes' menaced Europeans.**[Is it possible to quote from this letter more fully? You cite racist language as being one area of change — what was the colonial terminology like as opposed to the post-colonial terminology?]** In contrast to this description, the surveyor's assistant appears as a colleague, subservient and more

friendly than menacing. In September 1938, readers saw a Papua New Guinean milking a cow in a scene familiar to many rural Australians, **[Please quote description from text]** but the next month were confronted with alleged savages **[Quote from text]** in full and half-page portraits of costumed women and armed Waghi warriors **[Is it possible to obtain these pictures instead of the Kunimbi men? It presents a much stronger case]**. For forty years *Walkabout* offered similar oppositions and dissonances.

Fig 3 and 4: **Images of 'savages' from October 1938, if poss. All photos need to be at 300 dpi, black and white, preferably in TIF format, not JPEG — or originals sent (they will be returned, of course).**

Fig 5: 'A surveyor at work in New Guinea', (sent in by Jack O'Neill to the 'While the Billy Boils' column), *Walkabout,* January 1938, 60.

Fig 6: 'Dairy farms are operating successfully in the Morobe district', *Walkabout,* September 1938, 38.

Until it closed in 1974, *Walkabout* offered 375 stories and 1,539 photographs of the Pacific over forty years.[19] The cover photographs from 1935 and 1968 demarcate the conventional chronology and visual history of Oceania, evolving from the colonial and recently 'discovered' Highlands 'native' in traditional costume in the 1930s to the modern, briefcase-carrying university student of 1960s. The supporting illustrations in 'Undiscovered New Guinea; with the Mt Hagen patrol' in the first issue in 1934 and the 'The broken silence' in 1968 support this diachronic sequence. Three images of Taylor, Leahy and Spinks on patrol and seventeen intimate portraits of armed and costumed Highlands men and women historically form a sharp contrast with the 1960s images of schools, a busy Port Moresby street and students posing with their books outside a lecture room. By 1968, the author/photographer Peter Drummond, still searching for photographs that had characterised *Walkabout* in 1934, complained 'it was difficult to find village locations around Port Moresby' and that he 'couldn't help regretting the passing of the photogenic thatched houses'.[20] **[Are you meaning to imply here that photographers in search of the 'picturesque' were more likely to depict the aspects of PNG culture that reinforced the 'primitive'? If so, does this conflict with claims to realist photojournalism or reinforce a colonial ideology? Or was there a real and dramatic cultural contrast in PNG, with tradition and technology existing side-by side? Please draw this out, if it is your intention]**

***Walkabout* presented views of the 'South Seas' to Australians that, in part, was based in familiar modes established by western colonial-era fiction set in the Pacific.** The previous hundred years of Pacific Island novels and short stories shared three consistent elements; a sense of a region without boundaries, an adventure and escape from conventionality and the normal reader's life.[21] **[Please draw this out more fully – are you saying that photographic representations in Walkabout reproduced the modes of representation established by western fiction about the**

'South Seas'?] These were all found in *Walkabout*, but the magazine added three elements — an educative agenda, a scientific approach and, by the 1960s, acknowledgment that Pacific Islanders were actively maintaining traditions, adopting new ideas, modernising and seeking responsible self-government. *Walkabout* also attracted an impressive list of established authors including Frank Clune, Brett Hilder, Wilfred Burchett and Ion Idriess. An extract, for example, from Burchett's book on New Caledonia was published in January 1942 and *Walkabout* maintained a high profile for the 'South Seas' by reviewing new books on the Pacific. In February 1959 this expanded to a two-page review of books by John Wilkes, Nevil Shute, Erle Wilson, Frank Clune and Nancy Phelan under the title 'Islands not all in the sun'.[22] *The gentle savage* by young patrol officer Malcolm Wright and *Cannibals are human* by Helen McLeod, an expatriate official's wife, were reviewed in 1962 and 1967 respectively.[23] McLeod and Wright's titles reflected a new era of empathy and respect among some expatriates and were a riposte to critics who saw negative consequences in all colonial situations.

Walkabout was openly patriotic, promoting Australia's role as a responsible coloniser in Papua New Guinea and Nauru, and suggesting economic opportunities for Australians in neighbouring southwest Pacific countries. The emphasis on national interest and economic agenda was evident in March 1954 when Charles Holmes, Managing Director of ANTA, wrote on 'Rubber: its significance to Australia and its production in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea', relying on photographs provided by the Australian Department of Territories, the British Information Service and a Rabaul expatriate, Noel Lambert. In June 1958 *Walkabout* announced that Basil Hall had been commissioned to visit Papua New Guinea and send back a series of articles. When they appeared in 1959–60 they were not in the pre-war style of geographic, travelogue tales of what-I-did-and-saw but expository reports on the development of rubber, gold mining, copra, transport and education.[24] Sensitivity regarding Australia's colonial responsibilities also forced the disgruntled Port Moresby administration, following an article by Holmes in August 1953 on the uncontrolled, unexplored 'Hidden people of the high valleys', to write to *Walkabout* enclosing an official map that distinguished 'actual areas under control, those being patrolled and unexplored areas'.[25] The map appeared in February 1954 with an editorial comment **[What comment? How was this framed? What was its meaning**, citing the Administrator, Donald Cleland, though he was not named. In May and September 1958, after an article on canoes and voyaging, NV Salt in Port Moresby and the recently retired Director of Education, Murray Groves, exchanged opinions over Salt's claim that *hiri* voyaging was declining.[26]**[Quote from the argument, why is it relevant?]** The 'South Seas' content of *Walkabout* had a serious readership judged by the stimulus it gave to Cleland, *kiaps* (government patrol officers), and expatriates like NV Salt and Jack O'Neil, prompting them to send letters and photographs to the 'letters' column. **[If this is your intention …]** These letters were aimed at correcting errors and maintaining accuracy, presenting evidence to counter published opinions. That readers and industry figures were prepared to contribute so readily and use *Walkabout* as a forum for public debate is an indication of the magazine's respected position as an educator on Oceania.

The advertisements featured in *Walkabout* demonstrate changing public perceptions of the Pacific and illustrate a new form of colonialism: a shift from adventure-travel to tourism. The 'South Seas' character of *Walkabout*'s advertisements was initially

provided by shipping companies with routes through the southwest Pacific, and later by airlines. Such advertisements as 'Cruise to Rabaul' (July 1935), 'To Europe across the Pacific' (April 1936), 'Sunshine cruises to Fiji' (June 1936) and 'Hong Kong by way of the South Sea Islands' (December 1937) were followed by advertisements from Qantas Empire Airways (September 1945), Trans-Australia Airlines (TAA) and Ansett Airlines in the 1960s and 1970s, accompanied by photographs, art and references to tradition, change, paradise and other tourist clichés. **[Are any images available from the older advertisements to contrast?]**

Fig 7; "Plenti balus …" *Walkabout*, Nov 1965, 10

Fig 8; "Old new Guinea won't wait …", *Walkabout,* July 1968, 45

Fig 9; "We'd like to take you back …", *Walkabout,* November 1972, 31

Fig 10; "For the holiday of a lifetime", *Walkabout,* March 1972, 17

[Could you clarify this passage in terms of why the ideological appropriation of NG was permissible and what it meant] That 'New Guinea' was defined as part of Australia could be seen in the advertisement for *Australia: Official Handbook* in 1942 in which a costumed Papuan dancer competed with established icons including a koala, kangaroo, cattle droving and two Indigenous Australians hauling in a huge turtle.[27] Thirty years later an Ansett Airlines advertisement promoting Australian travel included a costumed Papuan dancer along with an Australian beach scene, skiing, cities and churches.

Fig 11; Advertisement, "Australia; Official Handbook",
Walkabout, December 1942

Learning about the 'South Seas' in *Walkabout* lasted forty years and was alternatively entertaining, educative and political and blurred the division between geographic education, tourism promotion and nationalistic, flag-waving propaganda. The founding emphasis as a platform for geographic education changed as Papua New Guinea went from being newly 'discovered' to an investment opportunity for rubber, quinine, gold, kapok and oil, and eventually by 1972 an emerging new nation. In November 1972, *Walkabout* devoted the whole issue to 'Emergent New Guinea: Sounds of turmoil' so that Australian readers could track history as it was being made. A gallery of sixty-seven photographs, mediated by captions and informative, 'chatty' commentary, offered a visual tutorial for readers seeking to understand the direction of the changes taking place in Papua New Guinea. **[Is it possible to quote from these captions? What understandings were presented, in what mode was *Walkabout* educating its readership?]**

The text and visual description of the 'South Seas' did not always follow the chronological convention of gradual progress from late nineteenth-century colonial territories unaffected by port-town administrators through to the 1970s with assertive self-governing and independent Indigenous peoples claiming back their sovereignty. Contrary to the conventional narrative *Walkabout* often presented Indigenous peoples and material culture and as though nothing had changed between the first world war and the decolonisation era of the 1960s. In 1953 Eleanor Fleming described Samoa as a 'wonderful panorama of untouched native life' but ignored the growth of urban Apia, the tragedies of the pre-war influenza epidemic and Mau campaigns, the dislocations of the second world war and the forty-year struggle for independence, gained just nine years later.[28] **[Poss to quote more?]** In the same year a visiting American, Arnold Maahs, used the literary device of freezing 'natives' in a primitive pre-European contact time zone by including five photographs of 'New Guinea's stone age men' with stone implements, net-bags and thatched roof housing.[29] **[Poss to quote from article?]** Other authors derisively or humorously described *lap-laps* (cloth wrap-around garments) as tablecloths and houseboats at Koki as the 'Papuan navy'.**[Reference. Can you quote here? You bring up racist language as an early colonial trait expressed in *Walkabout*]** But while some text conformed to a primitive-to-civilisation sequence, photographs were often juxtaposed against and disrupted the narrative, acknowledging the people of Oceania were modern and approaching responsible self-government. That changes were underway in Oceania could be read and seen in 'Progress in Papua' by Mary Kent Hughes in 1960, 'When tribesmen gather' in 1962 (on Kerowil in the Western Highlands during voting for the first Legislative Council elections) and in 'Island in transition', a two-part article by Myra Roper in 1964.[30] Roper's ten photographs included two contextualising opening portraits of traditionally dressed people, but otherwise presented modern Papua New Guineans through teacher-trainees, nurses and students in frocks, shorts and shirts and a suit-wearing John Guise, the brilliant politician, trade unionist and later first Governor-General. These photographs in the 1960s challenged the stereotypes, racist appellations and portraits of 'Stone Age' warriors, types and anonymous natives concurrently appearing in other *Walkabout* articles. For forty years, resilient and long-lasting Eurocentrism in *Walkabout* enigmatically sat alongside the erstwhile efforts of other authors to depict a new Oceania.

Conclusion

National Geographic had built a hugely successful readership on exotic, tropical and traditional themes and its photographs of 'Untoured Burma', 'A land of giants and pygmies' (Rwanda) and 'Headhunters of Northern Luzon' in 1912–1913[31] were remarkably similar to those in *Walkabout* twenty years later.**[This begs comment on whether National Geographic's editorial policy had moved beyond a colonial perspective earlier than Australia made this transition – if not, why the twenty-year gap?]** *National Geographic* and *Walkabout* shared a focus on body scarification, canoe paddlers, archers, pot makers, fire making, partially clothed young girls, dancers, tree houses, patrols snaking into the distance through mountain grasslands and ubiquitous anonymous 'natives' climbing unassisted up a palm tree. Illustrated serial encyclopaedia — texts with purely educational aims — used similar images.**[Which encyclopaedias? Or the following texts?]** Hope Moncrieff's illustrated essay 'Papuanesia and Melanesia, Polynesia, Micronesia' in *The New World of Today* in 1922 and Basil Thompson's 'Palm fringed edens of Oceania' in *Countries of the World* in 1925 contained fifty and twenty-nine photographs

respectively, images indistinguishable from those appearing several decades later in *Walkabout*.[32] Romantic notions of noble savages, racially based paradigms, colonial and paternalistic ideologies and deliberate sensationalism, however, sat comfortably in *Walkabout* — judging by the frequency of the collocation — beside modernist, postcolonial advocacy. From the silence on this juxtaposition in otherwise actively contested letters columns, we assume that readers in 1934–1974 saw nothing contradictory in these parallel constructions. In 1948, J G Coombs wrote in 'Melanesian arcadia' that on leaving the Trobriand Islands he was 'thankful for a glimpse of another and in many ways a better world'.[33] The supporting photographs depicted a young boy's hairstyle, young girls fore grounded in a sunset, a portrait of a local government official, Losuia, and a so-called 'chief's' house. This was a pictorial genre and formula-story familiar to Australian readers going back to the 1890s. Two years later in 1950, in an article on the establishment of sheep farming in the Waghi Valley, Laurence de Guay wrote, 'on the whole the tribes of the Waghi Valley are still in awe of the white man'. Three photographs of the valley, a flock of sheep and a portrait of allegedly unmarried girls accompanied this story.[34] In 1962, in an article supported by nine quarter and half-page photographs, Olaf Ruhan was still writing about 'primitive tribes' along the Sepik River.[35] *Walkabout* was able to document for readers two parallel histories: one of developing rubber, oil, gold and kapok, local government elections and new universities; and the other of idyllic havens far from the modern world where Indigenous tribes practiced enduring customs, chiefs ruled and white men were rarely sighted. In the 'South Seas' coverage, the ease with which readers could switch from one level of understanding to another suggests that *Walkabout* should be acknowledged not for perpetuating what Glen Ross called a white progress and white masculine national narrative[36] but, in contrast, praised for its role in breaking down these allegedly dominant paradigms of public perception. Lynette Russell noted in regard to the depiction of Indigenous Australians that '*Walkabout* was produced at a time when a great deal of biological and cultural hybridity could be observed',[37] **[Please draw out this comment – did she mean that it was observed but not depicted by Walkabout?]** but while *Walkabout* constructed a romantic childlike stereotype of archaic traditional Indigenous Australia, in the 'South Seas' hybridity was acknowledged and a commonplace feature of visual reporting.

In the opening 1934 article, 'Undiscovered New Guinea', men were anonymous Waghi or Mt Hagen 'warriors'. By the 1960s, a new era of modern Papua New Guinea men were being quoted and identified. Goro Pipi, a man with five years dental training, was highlighted in a story on Hanuabada in February 1961. Kagena, an ex-Policeman with war service and a developing cocoa plantation, featured in July 1963. John Guise was noted as the 'most impressive native leader to emerge in New Guinea' in January 1964, and the student and later politician, Benais Subumei, and teacher and later senior Arts bureaucrat, Mali Voi, were both named and photographed in September 1968.[38] With international anti-colonial contexts and empathetic ideologies becoming significant a full-page portrait of Chief Minister and future Prime Minister, Michael Somare, was captioned, 'it's our turn to give orders' in November 1972.[39] The people of the southwest Pacific were no longer solely depicted as nameless, unknowable representatives of exotic traditions and cultures but often as individuals with professional identities. This recognition contrasts with *Walkabout's* continuing practice, noted by Ross, McGuire and Russell, of not naming Indigenous Australians.[40] The continuation of erasure, anonymity and spatial and

temporal homogeneity in Indigenous Australian portrayal contrasted with the trend in the 1960s to acknowledge Papua New Guineans as agents rather than undifferentiated victims. But as new paradigms affected editorial choice, victims and agents could appear side by side in the monthly issue of *Walkabout* and Papua New Guineans were visually remade each month, going back and forth from newly discovered 'natives' to actual agents in their own history.

As it finally struggled against mass circulation weekly and lifestyle magazines in the early 1970s, *Walkabout* became a less attractive pastiche of unique and unusual events, development issues, nationalist propaganda and exotic ethnography. In Australian scholarship, *Walkabout* is sifted for expressions of opinion by its well-known authors and its covers republished as illustrations. It has not attracted attention as a phenomenon in its own right. Richardson's history of travel and tourism in Australia refers to ANTA but not *Walkabout*; Davidson and Spearritt's *Holiday business* and Greenop's history of magazine publishing both acknowledge its popularity but ignore the pictorial dimension and the level of impact on readers. Douglas misses *Walkabout* completely in her history of tourism in Melanesia[41] and despite Frank Hurley being the subject of considerable historical interest his contribution of covers, photographs and articles between 1935–1941 has been overlooked.[42] Analysis of *Walkabout's* photography also raises issues of privilege and convenience. By regarding it as a source of illustrations, or material to be pillaged as evidence for other discourses, *Walkabout's* own history is denied. To emphasise the authors, explorers and academics who appeared is to privilege their already well-known life histories and further make *Walkabout* incidental. *Walkabout* has been dismissed as a travel magazine but on quantitative analysis alone the articles and photographs on the Pacific indicate an inducement to travel was not its main appeal. For example, Fiji (23 articles and 81 photographs), French Polynesia (22 articles and 94 photographs), the Solomon Islands (20 articles and 54 photographs), New Caledonia (18 articles and 64 photographs) and Dutch New Guinea (12 articles and 55 photographs) were not portrayed as desirable holiday locations but as colonial possessions with developing export economies, busy wharves and cities and as locations with scientific interest because of their unusual geological and topographical features. The people of Oceania — the other — were presented in intriguing portraits, decorated, smiling and admired for their skills as salt makers, long distance traders, canoe craftsmen, voyagers, dam builders, potters or firewalkers. Photographs of the Armed Native Constabulary, in lines, at attention, and in individual portraits, can be categorised as an iconic representation of repressive colonial control, but these individual portraits were also intimate, personal and very familiar to Australians accustomed to portrayals of first world war Anzacs.

Fig 12; "Native constable, Mandated Territory of New Guinea",
(*Australia in pictures*, supplement, full page portrait), *Walkabout,* May 1938.

When browsing in the pages of *Walkabout* readers, could get a sense of roaming through or cruising in the South Seas[43] but were mostly confronted with expository narratives about port towns, mines and plantations, opinion on political and economic development and the nature of colonial rule, rather than formula adventures and tales

of where-no-white-man-has-gone-before. The volume and subject matter of photographs on the 'South Seas' is measurable and supports the assertion that *Walkabout's* readers had the potential to be better educated about their near neighbours in Oceania. The 'South Seas' photographs published between 1934 and 1974 are important in our understanding of what Australians knew about Oceania and they provide an invaluable archive of colonial possession, modernity and development couched in the language of the ordinary person, familiar with but unlikely ever to visit the 'South Seas'. *Walkabout* was judged in 1947 to have shown a mature appreciation of magazine publishing and to have promoted geographic material in a "manner that provoked and sustained interest and won a wide and steady following". Frank Greenop suggested its 'geographic policy had proved to be more general appeal to the public than at first might have been supposed'.[44] Four thousand pages of photographs and text on the South Seas was part of that appeal and suggests that *Walkabout* played a significant educative role in mid twentieth-century Australia's understanding of Oceania.

1. [1] 'New Guinea' was used to describe jointly or individually the Mandated Territory of New Guinea and the Australian Territory of Papua. In 1949 the two were joined as the Territory of Papua and New Guinea (TPNG). The post-1975 unified name, Papua New Guinea, has been used in the following paper.
2. [1] There were 197 articles on Papua New Guinea, 102 on other Pacific countries and 74 on general Pacific topics. Hawaii and Yap were the only north Pacific countries featured. Without explanation, *Walkabout* also ignored the 1941-45 war in the Pacific, perhaps to offer Australian readers normality amid the uncertainty of war.
3. [1] Ann Curthoys and Kate Evans, "Tabloid culture in the 1950s", D Headon, J Hooton and D Horne (eds), *The abundant culture; meaning and significance in everyday Australia,* Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1997, pp.99-112
4. [1] Richard White, "The retreat from adventure; popular travel writing in the 1950s", *Australian Historical Studies*, no 109, 1997, pp.101-3.
5. [1] Max Quanchi, "Thomas McMahon; photography as propaganda in the Pacific Islands", *History of Photography,* no 21, 1, 1997, pp. 42-53; Max Quanchi, "The power of pictures; learning about Papua and New Guinea by looking at illustrated newspapers and magazines", unpublished paper, Popular Culture Conference, Brisbane 1997; Max Quanchi, "Jewel of the Pacific and planter's paradise; the visual argument for Australian sub-imperialism in the Solomon Islands", unpublished paper, 12th PHA Conference, Honiara 1998.
6. [1] "Australia and the South Seas" changed to "Australia's Geographical Magazine" and finally to "Walkabout; Australia's way of life magazine". "Australia", "South Seas", and "Geographic" were variously highlighted or appeared as a small-print sub-heading.
7. [1] ANTA was formed in 1929. Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt , *Holiday business; tourism in Australia since 1870*, The Meigunyah Press, Melbourne, 2000, pp.79-82; Anon., "*Walkabout*; fulfils a national need", *Walkabout,* September 1939, 54; Anon., "*Walkabout* re-examined", *Walkabout*, September 1956, 44; CH Holmes, "How *Walkabout* began",

Walkabout, November 1959, 8. From August 1946, *Walkabout* also doubled as the official journal of the newly formed Australian Geographical Society (AGS), founded with a Five Thousand Pound grant from ANTA.

8. [1] It is typically described as one; for example; Leonie Sandercock, "Sport", in Bill Gammage and Peter Spearritt (eds), *Australians 1938*, Fairfax Syme Weldon, Sydney, 1987, 373.
9. [1] *Walkabout*, February 1947, 44, April 1948, 47 and December 1945, 40.
10. [1] The most prolific "South Seas" contributors were the freelance author Basil Hall with 82 photographs (appearing between 1939 and 1963), Arnold Maahs, an American visitor to Papua New Guinea with 77 photographs including three covers (1948-53), Charles Weetman, the Assistant Editor of *Walkabout* from 1934-42, with ten on the Torres Strait Islands and Solomon Islands and thirty on Papua New Guinea including two covers (1937-45) and LG Vial, a patrol officer and wartime coast watcher (killed in a Liberator bomber crash in the Ramu Valley in 1944) with 59 photographs including two covers (1936-1947). These four also contributed 37 articles between 1936 and 1963.
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12. [1] Eighteen articles appeared on New Caledonia between 1935 and 1971. It was one of the four most popular "South Seas" topics, along with Fiji, Tahiti and the Solomon Islands. Nearly half the non-PNG articles and photographs were on these four countries. Max Shekleton of Noumea alerted me to the provenance of the New Caledonia photographs.
13. [1] Anon., "Photography and journalism", *Walkabout,* September 1966, 11. *Walkabout* also sponsored a national artistic and aesthetic photography competition in 1957 with a One Hundred Pound first prize.
14. [1] Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw histories; photographs, anthropology and museums*, Berg, Oxford, 2001
15. [1] Lynette Russell, "Going *Walkabout* in the 1950's; images of 'traditional' Aboriginal Australia", *Bulletin; The Olive Pink Society*, no 6, 1, 1994, pp.4-8; Glen Ross, "The fantastic face of the continent; the Australian Geographical *Walkabout* Magazine", *Southern Review,* no 32, 1, 1999, pp.27-41; ME McGuire, "Whiteman's Walkabout", *Meanjin*, no 52, 3, 1993, pp.517-25.
16. [1] The editor, (CH Holmes was not identified), had reworked extracts from Jim Taylor's report and used Mick Leahy's photographs. See, MJ Leahy, *Exploration into highland New Guinea*, The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, 1991. Mick Leahy wrote two illustrated articles for *Walkabout* (November 1935 and May 1967) and elsewhere provided photographs on alluvial mining and the Waghi Valley.
17. [1] The photograph appeared under the banner 'Walkabout; Australia and the South Seas', this was a Frank Hurley photograph taken in Papua in 1920–23, but credited to the Australian Museum, Sydney.

18. [1] Letter to the Editor, ("While the Billy Boils"), *Walkabout*, November 1936, January 1937 and January 1938; Jack O'Neill, (ed by James Sinclair), *Up from the south; a prospector in New Guinea 1931-1937*, Oxford, Melbourne, 1979, p.166.
19. [1] The photography segment was later called "Our Cameraman's Walkabout", "Australia and the South Pacific in Pictures" (briefly including New Zealand in the title), "Australia in Pictures", "Camera Supplement" and after 1961, "Australian Scene". It began with as many as 23 photographs spread over 6-8 pages, but dropped to 6-10 photographs in the 1960s also moving from black and white to sepia and finally colour. The segment was often devoted to a single topic and in the 1960s to single-topic double-page spreads.
20. [1] Peter Drummond, "The broken silence", *Walkabout,* September 1968, p.27.
21. [1] Ross Gibson stresses these characteristics by citing Grove Day's reliance on EC Parnell's comments in 1928; Ross Gibson, "I could not see as much as I desired", Ann Stephen (ed), *Pirating the Pacific; images of travel, trade and tourism,* Powerhouse, Sydney, 1994, p.34.
22. [1] "Scrutarius", Book reviews, *Walkabout,* February 1959, pp.38-39. Books by Jack Hides, Lewis Lett, WEH Stanner, AP Elkin, Peter Buck, CK Roth, Olaf Ruhen, Hartley Grattan, Katherine Laomala, Peter Lawrence, Osmar White and others were also reviewed.
23. [1] *Ibid.,* Book reviews, *Walkabout*, July 1962, 46, and May 1967, pp.43-44.
24. [1] Hall was a freelance writer and broadcaster, commissioned by *Walkabout* for several expeditions. Between 1938 and 1960, he published 13 illustrated articles on Papua New Guinea and others on New Caledonia, Fiji and the New Hebrides. Eighty-four on his photographs were acknowledged in these articles. He also wrote about the Torres Strait and Central Australia. AT Bolton (ed), *Walkabout's Australia; an anthology of articles and photographs from Walkabout Magazine,* Ure Smith, Sydney 1964, 251-2.
25. [1] Anon., (Letter to the Editor), *Walkabout,* February 1954, 44.
26. [1] NV Salt, "Papuan canoes", *Walkabout*, May 1958, pp.25-26; and letters by Groves and Salt in "Mailbag", *Walkabout,* September 1958, pp.39-40.
27. [1] For the Ansett Airlines advertisement, see *Walkabout,* March 1972, p.17; for *Australia; Official Handbook* see, *Walkabout*, November 1941, p.46 and December 1942, p.48. The Papua New Guinean portrait remained in the advertisement throughout 1942-43 but was later replaced by a photograph of Sydney Harbour Bridge.
28. [1] Eleanor Fleming, "Western Samoa", *Walkabout,* April 1953, pp.14-16.
29. [1] Arnold Maahs, "New Guinea's stone age men", *Walkabout*, February 1953, pp.29-35. A photograph by Maahs of an axe-carrying Highland man appeared on the cover.
30. [1] *Walkabout,* July 1960. "When tribesmen gather" by Patricia Ludford appeared in July 1962 using eight photographs by David Muir. Myra Roper's articles appeared in January and February 1964, just as the United Nations Foot Commission Report on PNG was about to take affect through the establishment of a representative, elected, House of Assembly.

31. [1] HS Abramson, *National Geographic; behind America's lens on the world,* Crown, New York, 1987 (see, chapter 12 "Photography blossoms"); CA Lutz and JL Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993.
32. [1] ARH Moncrieff, *The new world of today*, Volume 8, Gresham, London 1922, pp.117-212; Basil Thompson, "Palm fringed Edens of Oceania", *Countries of the World,* No 37, June 1925, pp.3769-89.
33. [1] JG Coombs, "Melanesian arcadia", *Walkabout,* January 1948, 16-20
34. [1] L De Guay, "Sheep in the Waghi Valley, New Guinea", *Walkabout*, May 1960, pp.10-14.
35. [1] Olaf Ruhan, "Sepik adventure", *Walkabout,* January 1962, pp.14-24.
36. [1] Glen Ross, *op.cit.,* pp.27-41.
37. [1] Lynette Russell, *op.cit.*, pp.4-8.
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41. [1] JI Richardson , *A history of Australian travel and tourism*, Hospitality Press, 1999; Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt, *op.cit.;* Frank Greenop, *op.cit.;* Ngaire Douglas, *They came for savages; 100 years of tourism in Melanesia*, Southern Cross University Press, Lismore, 1996; Ngaire Douglas, "The fearful and the fanciful; early tourist's perceptions of Western Melanesia", *The Journal of Tourism Studies*, no 8, 1, 1997, pp.52-61.
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travel, representation and colonial governance, Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 2001, pp.48-98; Julian Thomas, *Showman; the photography of Frank Hurley,* National Library of Australia, Canberra 1990; David O'Keefe (ed), *Hurley at war; the photographs and diaries of Frank Hurley in two World Wars*, Fairfax, Sydney 1986; Jim Specht and J Fields (eds), *Frank Hurley in Papua; photographs of the 1920-1923 expeditions*, Robert Brown, Brisbane, 1984; Len Bickel, *In search of Frank Hurley*, Macmillan, South Melbourne, 1980.

43. [1] Phrases used in; WG Turner, "One thousand miles in a ten ton ketch; cruising in the New Hebrides, *Walkabout*, February 1935, pp.8-15 (with 7 photographs) and Cornelius Ryan, "Roaming through the New Hebrides", *Walkabout,* July 1958, pp.28-30 (with 3 photographs)
44. [1] Frank Greenop, *History of magazine publishing in Australia*, KG Murray, Sydney, 1947, p.257.

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[1] 'New Guinea' was used to describe jointly or individually the Mandated Territory of New Guinea and the Australian Territory of Papua. In 1949 the two were joined as the Territory of Papua and New Guinea (TPNG). The post-1975 unified name, Papua New Guinea, has been used in the following paper.

[2] There were 197 articles on Papua New Guinea, 102 on other Pacific countries and 74 on general Pacific topics. Hawaii and Yap were the only north Pacific countries featured. Without explanation, *Walkabout* also ignored the 1941-45 war in the Pacific, perhaps to offer Australian readers normality amid the uncertainty of war.

[3] Ann Curthoys and Kate Evans, "Tabloid culture in the 1950s", D Headon, J Hooton and D Horne (eds), *The abundant culture; meaning and significance in everyday Australia,* Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1997, pp.99-112

[4] Richard White, "The retreat from adventure; popular travel writing in the 1950s", *Australian Historical Studies*, no 109, 1997, pp.101-3.

[5] Max Quanchi, "Thomas McMahon; photography as propaganda in the Pacific Islands", *History of Photography,* no 21, 1, 1997, pp. 42-53; Max Quanchi, "The power of pictures; learning about Papua and New Guinea by looking at illustrated newspapers and magazines", unpublished paper, Popular Culture Conference, Brisbane 1997; Max Quanchi, "Jewel of the Pacific and planter's paradise; the visual argument for Australian sub-imperialism in the Solomon Islands", unpublished paper, 12th PHA Conference, Honiara 1998.

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